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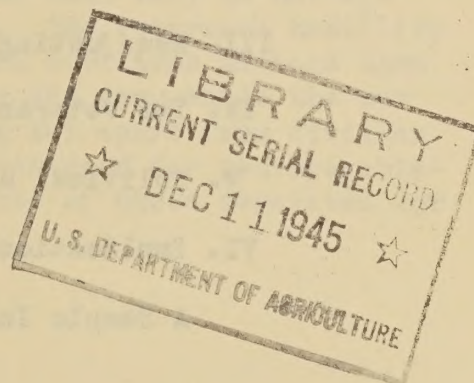
Division of Program Surveys

• Washington, D. C.

VETERANS' READJUSTMENT TO CIVILIAN LIFE

A survey of the attitudes and experiences

of discharged servicemen



STUDY NO. 109, Condensed . July 16, 1945 . RESTRICTED

THE STUDY here reported was made by the Division of Program Surveys, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, in the interests of governmental agencies concerned with the reabsorption of veterans into civilian life. The findings are here presented in condensed form, a more detailed report having been issued in March for limited circulation.

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VETERANS' READJUSTMENT TO CIVILIAN LIFE

Summary of the Main Findings

I. The Veteran's Emotional Reactions Upon His Return

Personal readjustment problems of varying degrees of intensity are disclosed by the veterans in this study. But the "typical" veteran pictured in some quarters as a bitter, hardened individual does not emerge from the survey.

More than four veterans in five believe that in some respects they are changed men as a result of their Army experience. This proportion includes 37 percent who notice in themselves only undesirable effects of Army service, and 22 percent who mention only desirable differences. The harmful results described by the men consist largely of increased nervousness and irritability, while the men who say they have changed for the better usually speak of intellectual broadening and greater maturity.

In these interviews most of the returned veterans indicate that they are psychologically separated to some extent from the rest of the civilian population. They feel estranged from their former life, find civilians hard to understand, are "lost" or "out of step." Resentment against civilians is frequently expressed on the grounds that they are not backing the war effort fully and that they do not appreciate the privations endured by soldiers. The veterans' hostility is sometimes increased by the impression that civilians mistake them for 4F's or are criticizing them for leaving the Army while the war is still going strong. The feeling of being set apart from civilian life is by no means confined to veterans discharged for neuropsychiatric causes; it also prevails among a majority of those separated for physical ailments only.

II. Finding and Keeping a Job

Although all the men interviewed were discharged for disability, three-fourths are judged to be employable in full-time positions. The majority of job-seekers among the veterans do not return to their former employers, many preferring to look for new opportunities more

in line with their physical and mental condition. In seeking employment, about half the men had recourse to the United States Employment Service. Returning to civilian life in the midst of a manpower shortage, most veterans have encountered little difficulty in getting jobs, and at the time of interview about three out of four were employed. A substantial proportion, however--one-fourth--may be considered too ill or too unstable emotionally to hold down full-time jobs.

III. Readjustment to Family and Friends

Veterans frequently feel that they should receive privileged treatment from civilians because of their Army service. But at the same time they may express a seemingly contradictory desire not to be singled out, a wish to be treated like everyone else. Some men display awareness of the strain which their nervousness and irritability have imposed on family relationships, although such intra-family tension rarely results in broken homes.

IV. The Veteran's Relation to Society

Virtually all the men interviewed believe that veterans should have their own organizations. Such organizations, according to most men, should have as their primary aims the furtherance of veterans' benefits and the sponsoring of social and welfare activities. There is an almost even split on the question of whether the soldiers of this war should form new organizations of their own or join the older groups.

The returning serviceman is getting a square deal at present, say a majority of these veterans, but skepticism about their future treatment is rather marked. The attitude that society owes them a debt for the sacrifices they have made is found to some extent among a majority of veterans in the sample. They have endured danger, discomfort, financial deprivation, and separation from family and friends, their reasoning goes, and they return to an economy where civilians have a competitive advantage in the labor market. The keystone of the ex-soldier's idea of the compensation due him is the security of a steady job. More than eight out of every ten men questioned assert that veterans should be given preference in employment opportunities "if there aren't enough jobs to go around."

V. Political and Social Attitudes

Government, rather than business, should have the leading voice in the settlement of postwar economic problems, say two out of three discharged veterans. Explaining this preference, many of the men say that government would be concerned about the interests of the people as a whole, whereas business might put its own profits ahead of the general welfare.

Although widespread criticism of wartime strikes is registered in these interviews, many more veterans approve of labor unions (49 percent) than disapprove (34 percent).

Racial animosities are indicated by responses revealing that, as a minimum estimate, 57 percent of the men expect "trouble" with Negroes after the war and 17 percent expect friction with Jews.

From the standpoint of personal readjustment, about half the men appear to have fitted themselves back into the civilian pattern with reasonable success, roughly a third are able to get along in a halting way, while about 15 percent give clear signs of being basically maladjusted.

I. THE VETERAN'S EMOTIONAL REACTIONS

UPON HIS RETURN

WHEN THE VETERAN returns home after a long absence, he might be expected to undergo emotional stress in his effort to adapt himself to what has become a new way of life. He may bring with him tensions developed in the Army, particularly if he has seen combat. He may bring also a set of expectations about what civilian life will and should be like for him, with the consequent risk of disappointment if his experiences are different from his expectations.

The following questions arise in this connection: What is the veteran's emotional state when he returns? What special treatment, if any, does he feel entitled to? How does he react to the way civilians treat him? Does he feel set apart from them?

TEMPERAMENTAL CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY ARMY LIFE

The veteran leaves the Army in many ways a different man from the recruit who donned a uniform years before. Through his Army experience he has acquired traits that may improve his civilian adjustment or that may make him temperamentally less well suited to civilian life than formerly. More than four out of five veterans recognize in themselves changes brought about by their life in the Army--changes that they feel are more often for the worse than for the better.

"Do you feel that Army life changed you?"

Report undesirable changes only	37%
Report desirable changes only	22
Report undesirable and desirable changes	20
Report no changes	14
Opinions not ascertained	7
	<hr/>
	100% N-301

In general, men discharged because of physical disability classify the effects of military service as beneficial about as often as they say it is harmful (apart from their physical injuries, of course). Men with neuropsychiatric difficulties, however, are more likely to feel that the changes wrought by the Army are undesirable.

The nature of the temperamental changes veterans have observed in themselves are as follows:

Undesirable changes:

More nervous, high-strung, restless, jumpy, tense, can't concentrate, want to be "on the go"	41%*
More irritable, short-tempered, quarrelsome, belligerent	17
Sadder, more solemn, depressed, lacking pep, "older," no longer carefree	10
Harder, more bitter, cynical, critical, self-centered	9
More dependent, have trouble making their own decisions	8
More withdrawn, less social, shy	7
"Dumber," intellectually narrower, less well informed	2
Wilder, less moral, more given to drinking and gambling	2

Desirable changes:

Intellectually broadened, think deeper, understand things or people better	16
Quieter, more settled, less given to running around or drinking	13
More independent, responsible, ambitious	12
More affectionate, appreciative, considerate	8
More spartan, more self-controlled, able to endure difficulties and discipline	5
More social, like being with people more	4

Each of the above percentages probably represents a minimum estimate of the number who have noticed the change indicated as they are derived from comments made in response to a general question. If the veterans had been asked directly about each specific trait, the percentage reporting these changes would most likely have been much larger.

Nervousness

Some form of nervousness is mentioned by a higher proportion of veterans--two out of five--than any other type of temperamental change. "Nervousness" or mental tension is not confined to men released for psychiatric causes, although it is more common among them than among other groups. It is mentioned by:

*The figures add to more than 79 percent (see page 1) because some men mentioned more than one change.

60% of psychoneurotics
48% of psychotics
28% of men with physical disabilities

The following comments indicate some of the forms nervousness takes among discharged veterans:

"It made me more nervous. If I'm in the basement, and my wife steps on a step suddenly, then I jump. Anything quick or sudden makes me jump."

Irritability and anxieties

Driven to getting rid of their tension by taking it out on other people, some veterans report fits of temper, bar-room brawls, and a general irritability. In addition to the 17 percent who describe themselves as irritable, another nine percent cite incidents in which they lost their tempers with slight provocation. How this irritability makes it difficult for some veterans to get along with their families and others is illustrated by the following quotations:

"I was sitting in a tavern--and we got to talking. I showed them my discharge papers, but they called me a liar. And I ain't going to take that. We had quite a little fight--yes, we had a nice little shambles."

"My wife can tell you--I ain't myself no more. I fly off the handle. I'm quick tempered. I never used to be. It took a long time to get me mad. I try to control myself, but it's best to let it come out and be over with."

But some veterans, instead of expressing their tensions through quarrelsome behavior, have become fearful and shy.

"I don't know, but every time you start talking to somebody, you feel like drawing in a hole. It's sort of an inferiority complex. Mainly when I speak to a prospective employer."

Sadness and dependency

The feeling of being old beyond their years, of losing their former carefreeness, is expressed by some veterans in comments such as this:

"At 22 or 23 you should just be starting having a good time. But the majority of the fellows, myself included, are all a little older than they should be. In three years I grew from a kid to maturity. But as far as being able to decide what you want, you're suddenly out and you still don't know what you

want. You really don't have to think for yourself there--you lose your initiative in some cases."

The feeling of dependency suggested by this statement does not seem to be a serious problem for most men. A few veterans, however, find it difficult to get back into the habit of providing for themselves and making their own decisions after having been relieved of this responsibility for so long.

Brutalizing effect of Army life

A certain tendency to callousness, cynicism, and indifference to the sufferings of others is acknowledged by some veterans. Although these men may have had this tendency all along, there are undoubtedly a few who have become hardened as a result of Army experiences.

Desirable changes

"The Army changed me for the better," say one-fifth of the veterans surveyed; another fifth notice desirable as well as undesirable changes in themselves after their life in the service. A good many of these men look back upon their Army experience with some nostalgia; they believe that on the whole they benefited from it. The opportunity to meet many kinds of men with different backgrounds from their own, and the chance to travel and find out how people in other countries live--these advantages are prized.

A frequent sentiment among veterans is that Army life has broadened them, made them more mature. "The experience meant a lot to me...in the Army I was on my own, it taught me responsibility...." "It made me a better man...I never knew before how to take orders..." "Now I can talk to older people due to all my experience...I've seen a lot more."

One veteran expresses a new-found sense of responsibility and ambition:

"I'm a better husband, I think, all around. Before we didn't seem to be doing so good. But now I work and try to get ahead, even if I don't exactly feel so good."

The greater maturity that some men notice in themselves is partly, of course, the natural result of being two or three years older than when they left home, but the Army seems to have hastened the process of maturing.

THE GAP BETWEEN VETERANS AND CIVILIANS

Estrangement

The feeling of being estranged from civilian life is voiced by one out of three veterans. In some this feeling persists long after they have returned. They feel "lost" or "bewildered" or "out of step," unable to understand civilians. An example is furnished by a veteran who has been home for a year:

"I'm having a heck of a time. Civilians don't know what you mean, and you have to stop and explain. The main thing that gets me is that you don't HAVE to do anything. I don't know, in a way it's nice, I suppose, but--"

For other veterans, coming home has proved a let-down. "Every guy thinks it will be the greatest thing in the world," one man explains, but "somehow I didn't get quite the thrill I thought I would get."

Guilt feelings

The task of adapting themselves to their new life is sometimes complicated by the peculiar time at which these veterans have returned. The war is still going on, but they are out of it now. The thought that many of their friends are still soldiers makes them somewhat uncomfortable. A good many remarks can be interpreted only as feelings of guilt or defensiveness about not being in the Army while the war is continuing.

"I don't feel right without a uniform," says a veteran discharged with a neuropsychiatric disability. "People look at me. It outs me up. If I had my way, I would still be back with my buddies. I hate to see anybody. Maybe my imagination has got the best of me. I don't feel right being a civilian."

In some veterans this sense of discomfort is so acute that they wear their uniforms beyond the legal time period or even try to re-enlist.

Resentment of civilians

When veterans feel guilty about not being in uniform, they tend to think that people are criticizing them. This view may lead them to resent civilians, whom they accuse of not recognizing the contribution discharged servicemen have already made to the war.

A certain amount of hostility towards civilians, furthermore, has been carried over from their Army days and has been reinforced by first

experiences back in civilian life. More than half the veterans interviewed expressed resentment of civilians. Specifically, they criticize civilian attitudes toward the war, selfishness, complaints of civilians over mild wartime restrictions, and their treatment of soldiers and veterans.

"We were over there and we heard how tough it was and we thought people were starving. We thought they had it worse than we did. That's why I probably have this feeling, like when I hear someone complain about not getting tires or something, I think, 'You civilian!'"

Veterans made the following comments about civilian life:

Civilians did not seem war-involved, not interested in the war or much motivated to win it	27%*
Civilians were not as badly off as expected--thought shortages would be more severe	17
Civilians seemed selfish, profit-bent, exploitative	17
Civilians did not show deference to veterans or soldiers	13
Noticed shortages (of gasoline, food), high prices, rationing	23
Friends and acquaintances were no longer around	17
Civilians were <u>more</u> war-involved than expected	2
Mention other changes	2
Noticed no changes	29

Dislike of wartime restrictions and changes

Among some veterans disappointment with civilian life centers around the personally uncomfortable changes--no one they know is left around, everything is so expensive and scarce, the old "good times" have vanished.

These disappointments, along with the sense of estrangement and resentment, are parts of a basic feeling expressed by most veterans that they are set off from the rest of the civilian world because of their experiences, and cannot fit themselves back into it without effort. While there is a slight tendency for men with neuropsychiatric discharges to express this kind of difficulty more frequently than men with physical disabilities--82 percent compared with 72 percent--the striking fact is that such a high proportion of veterans with non-psychiatric disabilities experience similar impediments to their adjustment.

*Adds to more than 100 percent, as some men mentioned more than one item. N=301.

The feeling that society is indebted to veterans

Criticism of civilians carries the implication that veterans feel they themselves have had to make more than their share of the sacrifices demanded by the war. This feeling is usually accompanied by the belief that society is therefore indebted to the veteran, and that he has the right to claim preferential treatment. A majority of discharged soldiers share this opinion, with varying degrees of intensity.

17% feel strongly that society is indebted to veterans:

"They've sacrificed their lives for these jobs and for their families. That's what they're coming back to.... I think they should have preference over everyone. I think they should have a lifetime job. I think it should be guaranteed."

"What they went through, and what they did without while they were gone--you can't give any of them too much."

37% have this feeling moderately:

"Well, a veteran's entitled to a job. They should do everything possible to make a job for them. They will come out in a very tired condition, and the thing they'll worry about most is security. If they get jobs they will feel all right about everything else."

"I think a veteran should be given all the opportunity he possibly can. But I don't believe they should be carried around on a pillow."

42% have little such feeling, or at least do not express it.*

In addition to the conviction that the veteran is entitled to a job, other demands for preference include such matters as obtaining priority on refrigerators, furnishings, gasoline, cigarettes, and similarly scarce items.

Although the veteran's claim on society is often founded on the comparative sacrifices he has made, there is another aspect to the attitude that he has a right to special treatment. A common viewpoint of these men is that they are at a competitive disadvantage in the job market after having been away for years. Jobs will be scarce, they fear, and civilians will have the inside track. In justification of their request for job preference, some of them say that civilians are in a

*The views of the remaining four percent were not ascertained.

better position to weather unemployment because of the money they have had a chance to save during the war years.

The extent to which a man feels that society has incurred an obligation toward him is not linked to any available measure of his actual sacrifices. Men who have been in combat, for example, are no more likely than other men to express their right to some form of compensation. Nor is this attitude related to especially long overseas service, loss of earning power, the nature of disability, age, marital status, or education. But a strong sense of society's indebtedness to veterans is almost invariably accompanied by expressions of resentment of civilians and bitterness about injustices to ex-servicemen. Of the men who assert strong feelings about their right to preferential treatment, 85 percent display antagonism toward civilians, as compared to 40 percent of the men who give little or no evidence of feeling entitled to rewards for their sacrifices.

Alienation, anti-civilian bias, and the demand for preference are sharply illustrated in the following remarks of an extremely disaffected veteran:

"When you come back they just treat you like scum. They just act like you was the unlucky guys that got the dirty end, and that's just too bad. We figured we had done something, and we find out we won't be shown any partiality. The boys will have to get used to things. If you ever got them all together they would probably kill all the civilians. They (civilians) aren't worth anything anyway."

II. FINDING AND KEEPING A JOB

THE SOLDIER discharged from the Army is like a man who has lost a job, in the sense that he is cut off from the tasks that occupied his time and from a regular source of income. He is faced with the problem of getting a job and earning a living.

The veterans in this survey were released from the Army because they were physically or mentally unfit for further service. Are these men able to hold down civilian jobs? How do they go about finding employment? How well do they adjust to the jobs they get, and what happens to the men who are unable to work?

ROLE OF THE VETERAN'S JOB IN HIS TOTAL READJUSTMENT

For the men discharged because of physical disability, success in finding suitable jobs is of paramount importance in readjustment, smoothing the path back to civilian life immeasurably. If, on the other hand, they encounter difficulty in getting the right jobs, the whole readjustment process is retarded. While some of these veterans cannot find desirable jobs because they are emotionally unstable, the emotional problems of other men seem to spring directly from their inability to obtain appropriate employment.

Among men with psychiatric discharges, jobs do not appear to play as positive a role as they do for men separated for physical disability. The neuropsychiatric veteran has deep-seated psychological difficulties which often remain unsolved even when he finds satisfactory employment.

Fitness of disabled veterans for full-time work

Although the veterans interviewed were disqualified for further service in the Army, most of them seem to be able to function in some kind of civilian job. There are some, however, who are so limited in the range of tasks they can perform that from a practical standpoint they are unemployable. The following estimate of veterans' employability is based on their physical and mental condition and the history of their efforts to find work. On this basis, about three out of four veterans are rated capable of putting in a full working day and of meeting the normal demands of an employer:

Employability

Able to work full time	73%
Able to work only part time or occasionally	11
Not able to work at all	12
Employability not ascertained	4
	<u>100%</u> N=301

The "unemployable" label is affixed more often to neuropsychiatric veterans than to those discharged for purely physical injuries: 33 percent of the neuropsychiatric cases are classified above as unable to work or at best able to work only part time, as compared with 17 percent among men discharged for physical disabilities (excluding those ailments that may have psychological components).

LOOKING FOR A JOB

About nine out of ten veterans have made attempts to find employment since they left the Army. The remainder consist mostly of men who are too ill to work, as well as some who are still resting or who are going to school.

For some veterans job-seeking is a simple matter--they merely go back to the jobs they had before entering the Army. But more often veterans prefer to try something new:

"Did you go back to the job you had
before you were in the Army?"

Returned to former employers without looking elsewhere	16%)
Returned to former employers, although sought jobs elsewhere) 34%
	18)
Did not return to former employers	58
Had no jobs before entering Army	8
	<u>100%</u> N=301

Although the veteran's right to his old job is protected by law, three out of five men did not return to their former employers, generally choosing to seek new opportunities.

In the majority of cases, men have relatively little trouble in regaining their old jobs if they want them back. Thus far, employers apparently are making room for returning veterans. Some incidents were described during the interviews, however, in which employers resorted to subterfuge to avoid their legal obligation to rehire

discharged servicemen, either violating the law or living up to the letter but not the spirit of the law.

When veterans do not return to their old places of employment it is usually because of a voluntary decision, and not because the jobs are not available to them. Physical or mental ailments often lead men to forsake their former occupations if these involve hard manual labor or put them under excessive nervous strain. Less commonly, veterans turn away from their old jobs in an attempt to improve their prewar status by obtaining higher pay or greater security. Reasons given by veterans for not going back to previous civilian jobs appear below:

Reasons Given for Not Returning to Former Jobs

<u>Did not want their old jobs</u>	48%
Did not want them, general	11%*
Too strenuous, too heavy	20
Pay too low	9
Insecure, no future in them	4
Noise, confusion, too much nervous (mental) strain involved	6
Too low in status	2
Not war work	1
<u>Could not get their old jobs</u>	12
Could not get them, general	1
The jobs no longer exist	8
The jobs exist, but are not open to the veterans	3
<u>No reason given</u>	5
Returned to old jobs	27**
Had no jobs before entering Army	8
	<u>100%</u> N=301

United States Employment Service

Nearly half the men interviewed have applied to the United States Employment Service in the course of their job-hunting. Although many veterans indicate that they were referred to satisfactory jobs by U.S.E.S., about one out of four has some complaint to make about its operation. Some of these criticisms are offered in a friendly spirit,

*Some men gave more than one reason.

**As seen on page 10, 34 percent went back to their former employers, but 7 percent took different jobs with these employers.

with recognition of the many difficulties involved in job placement. But other veterans are bitter and resentful. Unfavorable comments about U.S.E.S. agencies are chiefly that they are indifferent to veterans' problems; that veterans are not given preference or special attention; that they make no effort to fit the job to the man--that is, that they refer men to jobs not suited to their qualifications, not adaptable to their disabilities; that job listings are inadequate.

In many cases, veterans are nervous and irritable, and sometimes of course they are ailing physically. By the time they come to the U.S. E.S., they may be disillusioned and bitter about civilians. Add to this the belief that they have been promised and deserve every assistance in finding jobs, and it seems likely that the veteran may be a touchy individual when he appears at the employment office. The manner in which he is received, the degree of attention accorded him, are of prime importance in determining his attitude. A veteran who applied to U.S.E.S. offices in two cities demonstrates reactions to two different kinds of treatment:

"...I didn't get too much satisfaction. And I almost killed a guy down there...It wasn't so much what he said, but how he said it. I mean, you sort of felt that you were a has-been. That's hard to take. He kept repeating all the things that were wrong with me...But in (the other city), the U.S.E.S. man was wonderful. He greeted me and said 'Won't you sit down and have a cigarette' even before he asked me about a job. He talked with me...about my future outlook."

Difficulty in finding a job

The extent of difficulty in finding a job is largely dependent on two factors: (a) the number and variety of jobs available in the market and (b) the range of jobs that the veteran finds acceptable. Despite the fact that veterans sometimes place narrow limits on the kinds of jobs they will take, the wartime manpower situation is such that most veterans have found it fairly easy to get satisfactory employment.

11% have had great difficulty in finding satisfactory jobs
33% have had some difficulty
40% have had no difficulty
16% are unemployable or haven't sought work

The chief obstacle in the way of these job-seekers stems from the nature of their disability, which may make available jobs unsuitable for them. Other difficulties mentioned by veterans are that the available

jobs do not pay enough or are "just not what I wanted."

Veterans discharged for psychoneurosis and for psychosomatic ailments such as stomach ulcers, hypertension, and heart disease have found it hardest to get suitable jobs. It would appear from this that psychoneurotic complaints, or those which may have a psychological component, are more serious barriers to job adjustment than are outright physical disabilities.

It has been said that reluctance of employers to hire "disabled" men is a considerable source of difficulty, but only a few of the veterans interviewed mention such a problem. Being a veteran, say half these men, makes it easier to get a job. Others report that veteran status has no effect on finding employment because employers snatch at anyone who offers himself. Some veterans foresee that this situation will change after the war, when the patriotic ardor of employers has cooled somewhat and when jobs will not be so plentiful.

"Do you think that being a veteran makes it easier or harder to get a job?"

Easier	47%
No difference	15
Harder	8
It depends	17
Easier now, but will make it harder later	6
Don't know, opinion not ascertained	7
	<u>100%</u> N=301

ADJUSTMENT TO JOBS

At one time or another since their discharge, about nine out of ten veterans have been gainfully employed. In the majority of cases, the veteran has held on to one job throughout this period, but more than one-third of the men have shifted jobs, in some cases three or four times.

Number of Jobs Since Discharge

One	52%*
Two	22
Three	8
Four or more	5
Haven't worked at all	13
	<u>100%</u> N=301

*Six percent were no longer working at these jobs, however; that is, they were unemployed at the time of interview.

Shifting from job to job has not always advanced the veteran up the occupational scale. Why, then, do veterans quit jobs? The reason most frequently advanced by the men relates to the effect of the work on their physical condition:

Reasons for Leaving Jobs

<u>Had given up jobs</u>	41%
Poor health, fatigue, job too heavy	33%*
"Nerves," noise, emotional disturbance	9
Layoffs, outbacks	6
Dissatisfaction with pay	6
Inability to get along with boss or foreman	4
Dissatisfaction with status	4
No future, advancement too slow	3
Inability to get along with fellow workers	1
Other types of dissatisfaction with job (hours, working conditions)	6
Reasons not ascertained	2
Have held only present jobs	46
Haven't worked since discharge	13
	<u>100%</u> N=301

While many veterans explain their job mobility on physical grounds, the real difficulty sometimes lies in their inability to adjust psychologically to the demands of the job. Thus job-skipping is more common among men separated for psychoneurotic causes than among those with physical injuries. An example of job instability is provided by the following quotation:

"I had four jobs. The first I couldn't take--my legs wouldn't hold up. The second...the noise and the heavy work was too much, I almost collapsed. Then I went to _____, but there the inactivity got me. The fourth job...they treat me very nice, but it still is not enough money."

Without getting the viewpoint of their employers, it is difficult to estimate how well these veterans are getting along on their jobs. Judging from the attitudes expressed by the veterans themselves, however, between 40 and 50 percent of those employed at the time of interview were well adjusted to their work and only a small minority were distinctly maladjusted.

*Some men mentioned more than one reason.

"How do you like your job?"

Satisfied	32%
More or less satisfied	30
Dissatisfied	12
Not working	25
Attitude not ascertained	1
	<u>100%</u> N=301

An analysis of these figures shows that 51 percent of men discharged for physical reasons are satisfied with their jobs, in contrast to 35 percent of those with neuropsychiatric discharges.

In the eyes of veterans, the two most desirable characteristics of a job are security and suitability to their physical and mental condition. Other advantages which frequently assume importance for veterans are opportunities for advancement, absence of monotony, opportunity to work with little supervision, and outdoor environment. High income is mentioned less frequently than any of these other factors.

A veteran saying he wants a job in line with his disability may often be expressing a preference for work where "nervous spells" or absence because of a temporary relapse will be overlooked. In explanation of the importance of this advantage, it may be cited that at least one out of every three employed veterans has been compelled to take time off because of sickness or "nerves".

In two-thirds of the cases where comparison is possible, veterans are earning at least 15 and frequently over 50 percent more than they earned before the war. A majority of veterans indicate satisfaction with their present wage scale, although almost one-third of them found that pay envelopes were slimmer than they had been led to expect while in the Army:

"Overseas the average soldier is told that the war worker is making millions. You don't get near as much as you expected. If they wanted to do something for the soldier they could tell him about it."

On the whole, veterans do not seem to make exorbitant demands regarding income, which is outweighed by several other factors in their evaluation of a job. This statement is not meant to imply, however, that they are not concerned with the amount of money a job brings. The fact is that they have returned at a time when wage rates are high, and they have little trouble finding employment which nets them enough to meet their basic expenses and usually more than they earned before the war.

PLANS FOR SCHOOLING AND JOB TRAINING

The idea of going back to school or seeking further job training has been definitely dismissed by about half the veterans interviewed. Of the remainder, few have definite plans to resume any kind of schooling. When veterans do consider further education they are more apt to think of vocational training than of formal schooling. Plans of ex-soldiers in this respect are rather vague for the most part.

ADJUSTMENT OF UNEMPLOYABLES

The interviews disclose that about one out of four veterans in the sample may be classified as too ill or too upset emotionally to hold full-time jobs. Some of these men have tried to work and failed, others have not made the attempt. They are sometimes prey to anxieties and tensions about not being able to support themselves or to "get ahead." The aimlessness which may haunt their existence is portrayed in the following comment:

"I'm lost. I don't know what to do. I go downtown and bum around, just go here and there. I buy a streetcar pass and ride around on the streetcars, but you can't do that all day. I'm not used to this kind of life. I've got to get started."

With some of these mentally disturbed men the trouble seems to be that they are afraid to try to work at any job. They feel inadequate to the strain of being interviewed for jobs, adjusting themselves to co-workers, learning new skills, and so on.

Among the unemployables is a group of men who have been trying to work and have failed. They are among the most frustrated, most unhappy of all the veterans interviewed. Responding to certain social, economic, or psychological pressures, they are forced into the labor market but are too ill or too unstable to meet the demands of a job situation. The result is that they try and fail, and sometimes keep on trying and fail again and again. A veteran discharged from the service because of hysterical blindness is an example:

"I'm having trouble with my eyes. I work three or four hours, and then things begin to blur, and I can't see anything. I went to work in a machine shop...started to get blind spells and layed off one week. I return with a lot of hope and high spirits and after two weeks the same thing happened. (At another place) In one week my eyes got dim. A young guy started to read my machine for me...and then I had to quit. That's how it is. Now I'm trying to do some painting, but when I start to paint my eyes get bad."

III. READJUSTING TO FAMILY AND FRIENDS

THE DISCHARGED veteran faces the necessity of making social readjustments. He must accustom himself to living at home with his wife or parents. He must make new friends or re-establish contact with old ones. His disability may be a handicap to social readjustment. In his contacts with family and friends, what elements prove irritating to the veteran and what conflicts arise? How successful are disabled veterans in establishing new personal relationships?

HOW THE VETERAN WANTS TO BE TREATED

Many veterans express definite, if sometimes inconsistent, ideas on how they should be treated by civilians. In general, they may ask to be recognized as veterans, especially in matters where such recognition would smooth their way. But when being singled out is uncomfortable, they may prefer to be treated like anyone else.

How Veterans Say the Ex-serviceman Should be Treated

<u>Give him time to readjust</u>	11%*
(Be understanding, tolerant, don't argue with him let him do what he wants, don't ask too much of him)	
<u>Recognize the fact that he is a veteran</u>	58
Don't act as though he had no right to be back, don't comment as though he were a slacker or a 4-F, don't ask why he was discharged	34%
Recognize the honorable discharge button	9
Don't tell him about civilian sacrifices (since they are small compared to what soldiers make)	8
Recognize that he is a veteran, single him out	8
Don't tell him how the war should be fought, or about foreign countries	6
Other suggestions	9
<u>Don't single him out</u>	21
Treat him like anyone else, be natural	10
Don't sympathize with, pity, or coddle him	13
<u>Don't ask him about Army (war) experiences</u>	40
No suggestions	16

*Some men mentioned more than one item. N=301.

During a war, people are aware of two broad groups--soldiers and civilians, but are apt to overlook the existence of an in-between group--ex-soldiers. Few people stop to think that the man in civilian clothes may have been in uniform a month ago. This oversight may lead to irritation on the part of veterans who feel that they are not being given the respect due them for what they have undergone. Running counter to this attitude that he has earned the right to deference is the veteran's feeling of guilt at being in civilian life while others are still in the Army. Questions by civilians about why he was discharged may be interpreted as a challenge to his right to be back. Resentment at this line of questioning is illustrated by a veteran who says:

"If you have a disability such as a leg or arm off it's all right. But anything they can't see, they don't consider you disabled. They say, 'What's wrong with you?' and I say, 'So and so.' They say, 'You look all right.' About that time I have my own ideas what I would like to do to them...they are ignorant of the facts. Tell them not to ask embarrassing questions."

Similar irritation is voiced at civilians who regard all young men not in the service as 4-F's. With great gusto veterans repeat stories and rumors about civilians who mistake badly mutilated ex-soldiers for 4-F's. The resultant discomfiture of the civilian in the story is a source of vicarious pleasure for these veterans.

Such complaints, all with a quality of defensiveness about them, are more likely to be made by psychoneurotics than by other veterans. Men with physical disabilities are more apt to condemn the behavior of civilians in other types of situations. Criticism is frequently directed at civilians who boast about the "sacrifices" they have made and their contributions to the war. Veterans also object to the question "Don't you know there's a war on?" "The next time anybody says that to me, I'll knock him down," one man threatens.

Civilians should make allowances for the veteran who is in the throes of readjustment, veterans say, but there are certain attentions which should be avoided. High on the list is the practice of questioning veterans about their war experiences. Some men find it disturbing to talk about such things, others feel it is hopeless to explain their experiences to someone who hasn't been through them, or find it tiresome to tell the same stories over and over.

"...then, there's another kind that wants to know how many Japs you killed, all your exploits. Then there's the type that want to hear about people having their insides blown out. A man's no prettier on the inside than he is on the outside. We want to forget those things."

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Quite early in the study it became apparent that frankness on the men's intimate personal relations could not be obtained in the interviews, and attempts to evaluate the family situation of each veteran were abandoned. But many men admit that they are nervous, irritable, difficult, and some seem aware of the strain imposed on their family relationships. Family tensions, however, rarely take the acute form of broken homes. Almost all the single veterans live with their parents and only three percent of the married men have been divorced or separated from their wives.

Some of the men whose marriages have failed since their return to civilian life trace the break-up to their own temperamental shortcomings, others blame the enforced separation period during which their wives were "running around." In a few cases the marriages were impulsive, war-inspired ventures which seem doomed to failure from the start.

ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER VETERANS

In the absence of old friends who are in service and in view of their estrangement from civilians, it might be expected that veterans would seek out the company of other veterans as a social outlet. About two-thirds of the men who express an opinion on the subject would prefer contact with other veterans rather than civilians. But association with ex-soldiers is limited by such factors as possible feelings of guilt about the cause of their own discharge, a tendency on the part of some men to avoid social relationships, and the relatively small number of veterans in circulation. Nevertheless, 44 percent of those interviewed report that they "go around a little" or "quite a bit" with other veterans.

There is a noticeable inclination among one-fifth of the veterans (usually those with neuropsychiatric histories) to withdraw from social contacts and to retire more or less into self-seclusion.

IV. THE VETERAN'S RELATION TO SOCIETY

THE VERY FACT that a man is a veteran means that he is a beneficiary of certain provisions made for his welfare. If disabled he is eligible for a pension and medical care, and disabled or not he is entitled to a variety of benefits under the "GI Bill Of Rights". Automatically, then, he becomes a member of a group that has a rather special status in society.

How satisfied are veterans with the program set up for them so far? How do they believe they will be treated in the future? Do they feel a need for veterans to organize in their own groups?

VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS

There can be no mistaking the veterans' desire to have his own organizations. Virtually every man interviewed expressed himself as in favor of the idea. These should be the functions of such organizations, in the opinion of veterans:

Activities Recommended for Veterans' Organizations

Providing personal help and counseling (case work, job placement, mutual aid)	67%*
Providing social activities and recreation (opportunity to preserve or renew fraternal feeling)	54
Protecting or gaining veterans' rights	51
Influencing national policies (larger than veterans' rights)	13
Miscellaneous, undecided, etc.	10

Preserving some of the warmth of Army companionship through social activities is mentioned by a majority of veterans as one of the purposes of a veteran's organization. This somewhat nostalgic appeal of veterans' groups is well illustrated in the following comment:

"When veterans get together it's just a style of your own, and nobody can duplicate it. And for a bunch of sensible men to be getting together it's a good outfit. You just take care of the other guy like they did in the old days."

*Some men mentioned more than one item. N=301.

Even more often, the men think of veteran's organizations as a kind of social service agency, giving personal help and counsel to the men in finding employment, filing pension claims, aiding the sick and disabled, and like matters. Some of the men actually confuse the Veterans Administration with veterans' organizations because of the similarity of the functions they expect from each.

A majority of ex-servicemen also view their organizations as a champion of "veterans' rights"--fighting to maintain present benefits and pressing for new ones. They look to these organizations as an instrument for presenting their case for special treatment to the rest of society. This is how some men see the objectives of veterans' organizations:

"Fix bills and things so Congress or somebody can't back down on them later on."

"They should be solidly behind the soldiers in securing proper pensions and any bonus they might be able to get..."

Old vs. new organizations

Veterans are almost evenly split on the question of joining already established veterans' organizations or forming new ones for soldiers of this war.

"Should veterans of World War II go into the older organizations or form a new one of their own?"

Should have new organizations of their own	37%
Should have separate posts in old organizations	6
Should go in with the older organizations	45
Undecided, other answers, or indifferent	12
	<hr/>
	100% N=301

Men who favor setting up new organizations cite the difference in age and viewpoint between veterans of the two wars and feel they would have little in common with the older men. It's a different kind of war that is being fought now, many of these veterans feel, and "even the American Legion doesn't go around with the Spanish-American War veterans." The past record of veterans' organizations does not meet with the approval of a few of the men interviewed, and they prefer to start anew instead of trying to reform the old organizations.

The men who advocate joining established organizations often explain their choice in terms of "practical politics". Make use of the power

and experience these organizations have built up, they say, and preserve a united front for the interests all veterans have in common. A frequent undercurrent here is the feeling that while age differences may be important, the newer veterans will form the majority memberships anyway.

Already about half the men have joined veterans' organizations and another two-fifths plan to join, so that about 90 percent will eventually be organized if current plans are carried through. Present members include two-thirds of those who expressed themselves in favor of the older organizations, but only one-third of those who recommend establishing a new one. Some of the latter are waiting to see whether a new organization will be formed after the war, but very few are so opposed to the old groups that they would not join them if a new one does not materialize.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CURRENT PROGRAMS FOR VETERANS

Despite the interest of veterans in having their organizations lobby for veterans' benefits, most of the men feel that they are getting a square deal.

"Is the returning serviceman getting a square deal at present?"

Yes	58%
In some ways yes, in others no	28
No	11
Don't know, or opinions not ascertained	3
	<u>100%</u> N=301

Criticism of the aid veterans are getting in finding jobs has already been discussed in this report. There are also complaints from a fairly large number regarding the amounts or administration of financial benefits for veterans. There is much dissatisfaction with mustering-out pay, and the GI Bill comes in for some disapproval, particularly the security provisions for personal loans. "If I had the security," a veteran declares, "I wouldn't need the loan." Some men appear to have been thinking of loans as another word for bonus.

Pensions

The manner in which pension claims are settled has an important effect on the attitudes of disabled veterans. Nine out of ten are receiving pension checks. Half of these men are satisfied with the way

their claims have been handled, but more than four veterans in ten have some objection to the settlements made in their cases.

"How do you feel about the way
your (pension) case was settled?"

Satisfied	49%
Satisfied in some ways, not in others	13
Dissatisfied	29
Don't know, or attitudes not ascertained	9
	<u>100%</u> N=301

Dissatisfaction with pensions is centered around the feeling that they are not commensurate with the extent of the veteran's disability. The medical evaluation by which pensions are determined does not take into account all a man's ailments, many veterans charge.

"I injured my back in Melbourne, Australia, and there's no way I'd get there if I wasn't in the Army. I never had flat feet before. My knee is service-connected. My eyes, one goes haywire sometimes. All this happened in the Army and they still won't service-connect me."

In setting the size of pensions, the effect of disabilities on earning power is underestimated by the Veterans Administration, according to some men. Furthermore, runs another criticism, downward revisions are made before they are actually warranted by an improvement of the veteran's condition.

Even among the men who are satisfied with their pensions, apprehension about the future is noted. "It is the future that worries me. As long as I'm this way, I'm satisfied. But if I lose my job (because of disability) I'll need more.

Medical care

The medical care available to veterans is also the subject of some dissatisfaction. Criticisms in this connection are that Veterans' Facilities are inconveniently located; that at the Facilities patients have to wait too long for attention; that treatment is superficial and inexpert; that there is no out-patient service, so that veterans must be hospitalized to obtain treatment.

Other complaints involve the procedure for deciding claims, inequality of awards, and delay in settlement of cases.

A SQUARE DEAL AFTER THE WAR

Only one ex-soldier in ten among those interviewed feels that veterans are not receiving fair treatment at present. But more than one out of four predicts that veterans will be treated unjustly after the war:

"How about after the war--do you think veterans
will be treated fairly?"

Believe veterans will receive fair treatment	50%
Undecided, "it depends"	19
Believe veterans will not be treated fairly	27
Opinions not ascertained	4
	<hr/> 100% N=301

Cynicism on this subject is fed by the recollection of events during the last postwar period, which veterans recall as a sequence of "demobilization, depression, apple selling." Many of them fully expect a repetition of this cycle.

The confidence of some men in the future treatment of veterans may be traced to a belief that they will be strong enough politically to get what they want. Should veterans be dealt with unjustly after the war, most men believe that they should exert political pressure in an effort to compel a square deal. Eleven percent say that veterans should resort to direct or violent action to correct any injustices to veterans. These men, it is true, are considering a hypothetical situation and may be merely "talking tough." But it is worth noting that one veteran in ten is already embittered enough to talk about attaining his aims through direct action or force. These men speak of bonus marches, personal violence, or organized force. To what extent veterans in general will advocate methods of this sort cannot be predicted from the evidence at hand in view of the nature of the sample, which consisted solely of men discharged for physical or mental disability.

"If veterans don't get a square deal after the war,
what do you think they should do about it?"

Protest or bring pressure on the Government (usually through veterans' organizations); take political action (general)	57%*
Form separate party and take over the Government; elect their own people to run things	2
Resort to violent action	8
Resort to non-violent action (bonus march)	3
Take action (not clear whether direct or political)	9
Should not (or cannot) take action	9
Opinions not ascertained, don't know, etc.	16

*Some men mentioned more than one item. N=301.

Preferential status in employment

To the returned soldier a steady job represents the keystone of security. The fear that civilians enjoy a competitive advantage over veterans on the job market has been analyzed in an earlier section. To reduce this disparity, and as a step toward compensating the veteran for his privations, 83 percent of the men propose some degree of job preference for veterans.

Although one-fourth of the men approve the idea of special employment status for veterans without reservation, a larger percentage believe some limitations might be proper. Many specify that preference should be granted only as against certain groups of civilians, such as those with little seniority, those with no dependents, women workers. Some of the qualifications veterans place on their endorsement of job preference, illustrative of the dual nature of their thinking on the subject, are listed in the following table:

"In case there aren't enough jobs to go around,
do you think veterans should have preference for jobs?"

<u>Favor preference for all veterans</u>	76%
Over everyone	25%
Over employees without much seniority, over people who gained disproportionately from the war (war workers, 4-F's)	9
Over people without dependents	9
Over equally or less well qualified people	8
Over women	4
Other special groups	7
Kind of preference not specified	14
<u>Favor preference for some veterans only (disabled, married, combat, etc.)</u>	7
<u>Oppose preference</u>	6
Have conflicting opinions, or opinions not ascertained	11
	<u>100%</u> N=301

The ideal solution to the employment situation, many veterans say, is for everyone to have jobs--civilians and ex-soldiers alike. But if there aren't enough jobs to go around, "the first one to be laid off should naturally be the civilian who stayed home."

V. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

THE VETERANS of this war will make up a large and powerful segment of the voting public, and from their ranks will probably emerge many leaders of social and political movements. In their capacity as citizens, then, what kind of influence will they exert upon the community? Veterans were asked to discuss four different social issues, which, it was hoped, would be indicative of their general political and social orientation: race problems, labor unions, the purpose and worthwhileness of the war, and the respective roles of government and business in planning for reconversion.

GOVERNMENT VS. BUSINESS LEADERSHIP

Veterans are inclined to look to the government, rather than to business, for leadership in the postwar economy. Two out of three veterans think the government should have more say than business in solving the problems that face the country after the war. The government, many of these men feel, has the welfare of all the people at heart, whereas business may be guided by its own profit considerations.

"In trying to solve postwar problems like unemployment and so on, would you rather have government or business have more say?"

Government should have more say (no reservations)	56%
Government, but with reservations	9
They should share power equally, neither have say	9
Business, with reservations	8
Business should have more say (no reservations)	13
Don't know, or opinions not ascertained	5
	<hr/> 100% N=301

Preference for government control is frequently inspired by the belief that thereby "the boys would have more of a chance for a job." Many of the veterans appear to be influenced in their thinking by memories of the depression, when business bore the onus of firing personnel and cutting wages, while the government was regarded as the agency that put people back to work and saved them from starvation. Other veterans merely take government leadership for granted without verbalizing their reasons.

The group of men who say that business should be entrusted with the major share of postwar planning are largely concerned with the possible loss of individual freedom that might result if the government were charged with the primary responsibility of solving the country's economic problems. Some of these men favor giving business the first chance, letting the government step in only if private interests fail. But again and again this sentiment is expressed: "If there aren't enough jobs to go around, the government should make enough jobs to go around."

ATTITUDE TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS

A general question was designed to bring to light any antagonism toward minority groups occupying the thoughts of veterans. Over half the veterans prophesied friction with Negroes; the next most frequently mentioned group, Jews, was named by 17 percent of the men.

"Do you think there might be trouble between different kinds of people in this country after the war?"

<u>Predict trouble</u>	66%
With Negroes	57%*
With Jews	17
With Japanese	6
With labor	3
With capital	1
Between capital and labor	2
Between veterans and others	2
<u>Expect no trouble</u>	25
Don't know, haven't thought, opinions not ascertained	9
	<u>100%</u> N=301

The question is a general one, and the veterans answered it in terms of the groups that happened to occur to them and did not weigh the possibility of friction with each racial or social group. These percentages may therefore underrepresent the number of men who expect trouble with some of the groups listed. The word "trouble" in the question probably served to call to mind Negroes rather than other groups.

Hostility toward Negroes

In the course of these interviews, two out of three men talked about Negroes. Although feelings on this subject are often mixed and contradictory, unfriendly attitudes were about twice as common as friendly ones. A frequent viewpoint is that Negroes are getting "out of their

*Some named more than one group.

place"; incidents are cited in which colored people sit next to whites in street cars and in theaters and restaurants where they were not admitted before the war. Negroes have been spoiled, some veterans assert, by the freedom granted to them in the Army.

"They are getting out of hand. They want to take our jobs away from us. The result is fights and riots. Personally I think we have let the Negro go too far."

Resentment of Negro "intractability" is often accompanied by the opinion that they are "human beings too" and should have certain rights and privileges. The solution advocated in some interviews is to treat them fairly but segregate them more. This somewhat contradictory position is exemplified below:

"They died and suffered just as much as the white boys did. I think the colored and white should absolutely keep separate. But they should have their rights. I'm for segregation, but a nice kind of segregation. Give them clean homes and a lot of education."

The effect of Army experiences on race attitudes is difficult to evaluate. A few men say that tolerance has been promoted by inter-racial contact in the Army, where whites have a chance to know the Negro better and to see at first hand the job he is doing in the service:

"I saw what those boys did on the Burma Road. I had closer contact with them in the hospital and all. It explodes a lot of things you hear. You realize they have the same abilities...they just haven't had the breaks."

But a larger group seem to have re-inforced their anti-Negro attitudes in the service. Negroes make poor soldiers, these veterans may say, or somehow manage to avoid combat and stay in safe jobs behind the lines. The social acceptance of colored servicemen by the English people often arouses the indignation of white veterans. Violent physical clashes between Negro and white soldiers overseas are sometimes reported by the men interviewed.

"They went with the English girls. We practically had a war over there. Our men were supposed to be given a 24-hour pass and we were going into town and wipe every Negro out, but one of the officers said we had a war of our own to fight first."

To what extent racial antipathies or tolerance acquired in the Army will survive the soldier's return home may depend on the social climate prevailing in his home community.

Anti-Semitism

One out of six veterans expects trouble between Jews and non-Jews after the war; men with these views nearly always show signs of being anti-Semitic themselves. The usual criticisms of Jews come to the fore: they own too large a proportion of businesses, profiteer at the expense of non-Jews, and dodge the draft. If they do get into the Army, goes one form of complaint, they land the softest and safest jobs, and get a disproportionate number of discharges.

"Right here, everything is owned by Jews. Any business that tries to open up, the Jews close. They are holding up everything--the cigarettes for instance."

"There are so many Jewish fellows not in the Army--how do they stay out? Those that are in are in the best paying and least risky jobs."

A good many men tied their anti-Semitism directly to their Army experience, but some men have developed a more favorable attitude toward Jews as a result of friendships struck up with Jewish soldiers. Such contact sometimes develops a mixed feeling on this racial issue:

"Hitler had the right idea. They got a finger in everything. There were some down at _____ that were real white men and they were swell, but back here they are a separate race all by themselves."

ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR UNIONS

Favorable comments on the labor movement generally stress the benefits won for the working man in the way of wages and working conditions. The most frequent criticisms of union activity, as would be expected, are directed at wartime strikes. Almost half of all the veterans interviewed brought up the argument that while they were overseas drawing soldier's pay, undergoing danger and discomfort, war workers on the home front stopped production for the sake of higher wages.

A considerable proportion of the men who condemn wartime strikes nevertheless remain friendly to unions in principle, maintaining that they are necessary for the protection of labor. Two contrasting viewpoints on work stoppages appear below:

"We were propagandized, but we knew there must be something to gripe about to make them strike. The ones we really became incensed at were the employers holding up production to save a few cents."

"I feel there ain't one of them should be on strike nowadays. If I had my way I'd take some of them and string them up."

Being in the Army did not change the attitudes of most veterans toward labor unions, if their own judgments on this score are to be accepted. Only about one out of five feels that his outlook on organized labor changed while he was a soldier, practically all of these men now describing themselves as less favorable. Among the men interviewed there has been little personal clash with unions. Only two percent express resentment over having to join unions in order to get jobs, and there is no feeling that unions stand in the way of their re-employment. These attitudes may of course be conditioned by the fact that there is now little competition for jobs.

BELIEF IN WAR AIMS

The current attitudes which veterans disclose toward the war may be conditioned by the fact that it is still being waged. To say the war is meaningless might seem highly unpatriotic at this point. Following the last war, it will be remembered, cynicism on a large scale did not develop until after the peace settlement. The veterans of this war are less likely to be disillusioned because they went into it with few idealistic notions about our aims. As most men see it, we are simply fighting in self-defense against an aggressor.

Veterans' Conceptions of Our War Aims

We are fighting for freedom, to stop aggression (not clear whether referring to our own freedom or other countries' as well)	19%
To keep our country free (to avoid invasion, to avoid dictatorship here at home, for self-interest)	33
To keep other countries free, end wars, make a better world	12
For power and economic advantage for this nation	6
For the benefit of a few (capitalists, Jews, politicians)	5
For the benefit of other countries (England, Russia-- U. S. being exploited by them)	4
For nothing; war is meaningless	4
Uncertain, don't know, opinion not ascertained	17
	<hr/> 100% N=301

In the opinion of 13 percent of the men, we are in the war purely for the benefit of certain selfish groups or foreign countries, or for no

real reason at all. An almost identical proportion of men flatly declare, in response to another question, that the war is meaningless, not worth the sacrifice entailed.

"In the long run, do you think
the war will be worth the sacrifice?"

Consider the war worthwhile	49%
Consider it worthwhile, but with reservations	11
Consider it not worthwhile, meaningless	14
Opinions conflicting, undecided	24
Opinions not ascertained	2
	<hr/>
	100% N=301

The views of veterans on our war aims are characterized by a great deal of confusion and uncertainty. Many men who say the war is worthwhile apparently mean that we had no choice but to fight back once we were attacked, but they may also doubt that the war will bring any long-range positive gains worth the tremendous cost involved. The dual nature of the men's thinking is illustrated by this comment:

"The same as other wars..it's a money war, fought for profit for someone. Oh yes, of course (it will be worth the sacrifice) to preserve our democracy, that's worth fighting for. There will be plenty of time afterwards to wonder why we got in."

VI. IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE

THE VETERAN'S sense of strangeness in such superficial matters as absence of Army routine and wearing of civilian clothes may be expected to disappear as he slips back into his old way of life. In more fundamental ways, however, the gap between veterans and civilians may persist or even be widened.

Resentment toward civilians

When the war is over, two sources of friction between veterans and civilians will be eliminated: (1) Veterans will no longer feel themselves being criticized for being out of the Army. In fact, the embarrassment which some men indicate at not being in uniform will likely be reduced when the Army sends large numbers of able-bodied soldiers back into civilian life under its post-VE-Day demobilization program. (2) The alleged lack of support of the war effort by civilians will be a thing of the past. But ex-soldiers may continue to resent those who had an easy time of it in civilian life during the war and their hostility may take new forms.

Indebtedness of society

This study has indicated that there is little relationship between the extent of a man's disability or any other available measure of sacrifice, and the feeling that he is entitled to reward for his military service. The belief that the veteran has a claim on society, therefore, will probably be a common attitude even among the men who come back from the war without physical or mental disability.

The veteran has a general feeling that society owes him a debt, but thus far he has not crystallized it into an itemized bill of specific ways in which he should be repaid. The demands of the veteran seem to spring from day-to-day frustrations and will likely depend on the problems which he encounters. Thus if he is sick he may want medical care, if unemployed he may call for job preference, his demands keeping pace with his needs. When his requirements are met, it may facilitate his getting back into step with civilians and finally dissipate the attitude that he is a member of a special group entitled to special treatment.

Importance of jobs

At the very heart of the veteran's conception of a square deal for veterans is the opportunity to earn a living. Even at present, in a highly favorable employment situation, a large majority of returning soldiers insist that veterans should receive preference if jobs become scarce. The postwar economic climate is therefore seen to be a decisive factor in the re-absorption of ex-servicemen into civilian society. Widespread unemployment among them would serve to re-vitalize a whole series of resentments, drawing veterans together and widening the breach between veterans and non-veterans. In such an atmosphere, anti-labor and anti-Negro attitudes could be expected to flourish.

Veterans' organizations

If the veterans studied are a fair criterion, the soldiers of this war are on their way to becoming a highly organized and powerful group. The actual number who join veterans' organizations will probably be influenced by the extent to which they gain the benefits they feel entitled to receive. Should they believe themselves to be unfairly treated they may turn increasingly to their organizations as a medium for voicing their grievances.

Many of the veterans interviewed stand ready to support a new organization, an attitude which may or may not diminish when they find more men of their own generation in the old organizations after the war. In either case, future veterans will expect their organizations to undertake the same type of program recommended by the men already home: pressing for veterans' benefits, and sponsoring social activities and welfare services.

Political views and activities

The wide range of political attitudes held by civilians is also found among discharged veterans, who thus far have no unified political program. How deeply they will want their organizations to enter into the political arena may depend on how broadly veterans define "veterans' rights."

There may not be much room for disillusionment about war aims among veterans. What they consider to be our major goals--defeating the aggressors--will have been achieved with the war's end, and they appear to expect few other positive results. The less satisfactory the peace settlement, however, the more cynical they are likely to become on this score.

Temperamental readjustment

The personal readjustment problems of the veterans in this sample, complicated by physical ailments or emotional instability, do not furnish a basis for generalization to all demobilized servicemen. Many "normal" veterans, however, will also display the symptoms of nervousness and irritability noted in this survey. These data do not bear out alarming predictions that the "typical" veteran will be extremely bitter, hardened, and violent. There is reason to believe that most veterans will be temperamentally no worse off after their Army service than they were before it. But the proportion of soldiers who will face serious psychological obstacles on the road back to civilian life is large enough to present a potential challenge to agencies entrusted with the task of facilitating the veteran's "re-conversion."

APPENDIX: A SAMPLE INTERVIEW

THIS INTERVIEW is not meant to be taken as "typical" except in showing questions used in all the interviews in the survey. It is here presented, just as it was recorded by the interviewer, for the purpose of acquainting the reader somewhat with the nature of the material from which the findings were derived. It may be appropriate to mention here that most of the men approached in the survey were more than willing to talk about their readjustment problems; a good many, in fact, thanked the interviewers for the opportunity to express their views. Only three men out of all those approached refused to be interviewed.

The sample interview is with a 27-year-old veteran who was in the Army for three years, of which he spent more than a year in the North African theatre. He was an aerial gunner in the Air Corps, with a rating of staff sergeant. He sustained a gunshot wound in combat, and the wounded arm did not heal properly, with the result that he has lost part of the use of his left arm. He married after his return to the United States, a few months after his discharge. He has had two years of high school education. At the time of the interview, he had been out of the Army for eight months.

(How have you been getting along since you got out of the Army?) Well, kind of tough. I'm just getting along on my pension now. That's one thing the boys are kind of leery about. When you get home and they promised you would have that, and I went down there and they said to take it easy for five or six months, and I have been taking it easy ever since. They are kind of leery. They said these jobs are promised for them and I don't know if it is or not. It's still red tape. When you're in the Army it's red tape and when you're out it's red tape. So you don't know what kind of a promise it is. And a lot of these guys are waiting for this GI Bill to get through. And you read one day it's one thing and the next day it's something else. The way I take it, it's kind of a question mark what is going to happen. But if they can get it all straightened out and vote it all through before the boys get back, which they should have done it a year ago, because there's at least a million boys out now. They don't know what the heck to do. Some of them are a lot more disabled than I am, and if they get that (GI Bill, etc.) straightened out it would be all right.

JOB SITUATION

(Have you been able to look for a job since you got home?) Well, I'm not working yet. The doctors told me to take it easy for about six months or so. See, my arm is what is bothering me. I am 60 percent disabled in the Army and they got me for nervousness, and I'm just waiting for the doctor to tell me it's o.k. to go ahead. I feel like I'm going to work anyway in January. I got to do it; you just can't live along forever without doing something.

(Have you done any looking around for a job?) I've been down to the Employment Agency (U.S.E.S.) already and they looked at my papers and all that, and they didn't have a job that would suit me, I don't think, for the disability that I have. They said to take it easy and come back later, so I ain't been back since. The job that they wanted to give me--the thing they figured would come closest to what I could do--was a timekeeper in an aircraft factory. But that was a lot of climbing up ladders and getting into the fuselages of these bombers, and they were scared something would happen to my arm and set me all the way back again.

(How do you feel about the way they handled your case?) Well, I figured it was all right. They did as much as they could do. A lot of men might not be satisfied. I figured in the case of these guys in the Army that have been there maybe two or three years, when they come back I think it would be better if they didn't have to go through all that red tape, and just go out and get their own job if they want to. Just like here, you have to go down there and get referral papers and then go back to your job and turn them in, and all this and that. I was talking to one of the boys that was back and he went down there and they wouldn't give him his referral papers, and he had to go out and see about his job, and then run back and forth till he finally got everything straightened around. He waited for three or four months and then still didn't hear from them. So I think it would be better if they didn't have to go through all that.

(What kind of work do you have in mind?) Well, I got to get something like an inspector's job--something that there's no labor work about it. More mentally than physically, I guess you would call it. One thing I want to do is follow the line of mechanics or engineering, but that calls for a lot of lifting and it takes a great deal of labor, so they just told me to forget about it.

(Did you go back to the job you had before you were in the Army?) Well, I was a truck driver, and then I did odd jobs. I liked it, but then I can't do that either.

(Have you thought about getting any more schooling or training?) No, I ain't thought of that yet. (Why not?) Well, the money proposition has got me the most. It would have been different if it had been around \$150 or \$175 a month while I was going to school. That's just what I would need.

(What have you been doing?) Well, I bought myself a home, and I have been fixing it up a little here and there, and that's what I have been doing since I have been out--just getting things straightened out.

(How are you planning on looking for a job?) Well, I'm just going to canvass all over and try to pick out a job that I know is going to be suitable and that I like. I want to get one that I can stay there indefinitely--a permanent job. If possible I'm going to try to get into the Civil Service. You don't have to worry there if you get in and do a good job. It's something like a lifetime job.

(Do you think that being a veteran makes it easier or harder for a man to get a job?) Well, that's an undecided question. Some places it's easier and some places it isn't. I think it's a fifty-fifty chance--it don't make much difference. (Why do you think that is?) They figure he's hurt and won't do as much work as an able-bodied man--that's been true right up North here.

(Did you get any training in the Army that would be useful to you on a civilian job?) Well, when I went in there I was an airplane engineer --a mechanic. And from there I went to a flight engineer and worked myself up to that. But just like now during the war I worked myself up to a gunner and went to gunner school and I could work on guns like that. (Would you be able to work on guns then?) Well, that don't require much lifting. And there is a gun company over here. (Had you thought about that?) No, I ain't thought about that yet. I might go down there and try but I never did. I don't know why--because that there would only be just for the duration of the war and then after that there isn't much future in it.

TEMPERAMENTAL ADJUSTMENTS

(Do you feel that Army life changed you at all?) Well, I don't know. I don't think it has. Except it left me nervousness and all that. But still I'm about the same. (What do you mean by nervousness?) Well, just nervousness. If you had been through what I was in Africa--things that happened that you feel the rest of your life. You just feel it inside of you, and maybe other people won't notice or be able to tell it at all.

(Before you came back, what did you think it was going to be like back in civilian life?) Well, I didn't think it was going to be like it is. I thought maybe people would know there was a war on, but they didn't. I actually laughed at first when I got back. (How do you mean?) Well, like they were supposed to have a blackout, and you would see lights all over the place and people would say, "Shhn, here comes the air raid warden." I actually thought they should have a block buster right in the middle of the whole town--right in the middle of all their lights; maybe it would show them there's really a war going on. (Is civilian life different in any other way?) I don't know. The pace is stepped up a little bit. People are making more money and everything else. (How did you feel about that?) Well, it's all right. In a way it's going to be a let-down to a lot of people after the war. I figure they are going to hurt themselves. (How do you mean?) Well, you see these kids, 15 and 16 years old, making \$60 or \$70 a week, and when this war is all over, where are they going to be? It will be just like the last war--a lot of petty thievery and everything else. A lot of boys don't realize it, but that's exactly what's going to happen. Instead of going to school like they are supposed to they just step out and start making \$60 or \$70 a week, and when they get laid off, what are they going to do? (Anything else you've noticed?) No, I don't think so. (Were you disappointed in any way?) No, I kind of like it pretty good. It's just about the same, like I said.

(I see you are living here with your wife. Is this set-up any different than it was before you went into the Army?) No, before I was living with my parents. (How about things here at home with your family--how has it been going?) It's been going all right.

(Sometimes people do or say things which irritate the returned soldier, without intending to. We'd like to be able to tell people how you would like them to act. What advice would you give on this?) Well, I tell you, they shouldn't--a lot of them start broadcasting about how I did this during the war and I did that, and actually they don't know who is alongside of them--who they are talking to. They say, I'm doing so much for the war, and they might be talking to somebody that's been through one of the invasions over there, and maybe just half of him came back. And this guy has been here working and making \$80 a week, and maybe this guy next to him would be from Saipan and laid up in the hospital a long time, and just got discharged. It makes them feel, what the heck was we fighting for? (Interviewer's note: Here he tells a story to illustrate what he has in mind: about two girls on a trolley laughing and giggling at a woman whose saliva kept running out of her mouth. Finally a sailor who knew about her couldn't stand it any more and he got up and told the girls that she had been a nurse on Bataan, and the Japs had cut off her tongue.) Sometimes you would just like to take and shoot people like that;

that's actually the way you feel. (Anything else people should or shouldn't do, as far as veterans are concerned?) Well, they should keep their thoughts to themselves. If they think they are doing right, let their own heart guide them. Because they know what they should do and what they shouldn't.

(Are you able to find things you like to do in your spare time?) Oh yes. I always putter around with something--I don't know exactly what. (Do you ever get bored?) Well, I ain't so far, since I've been back.

(Do you go around much with other veterans?) Well, right around here most of the boys I used to go around with are still over there fighting in France. Unless you would consider my brother. (Interviewer's note: His brother is also a veteran.)

VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS

(Do you think that veterans ought to have their own organizations after the war?) Well, the way I figure, I think the VFW has a good organization; if everybody wants to get in, they should start one of their own posts, or else just go in one of the posts that's in existence now, because they really did something since they was started. And I belong to it myself--I'm not just talking. But it's actually the work that they did. You read in the papers about what they are trying to do for the boys if they can get it passed through Washington down there. This here GI Bill, they are trying to get that so there's no back-tracking on it now. That's what I said before, if they can stick together and get these things they promised the boys, so the boys know they got something to depend on. Fix these bills and things so Congress or somebody can't back down on them later on. And if the boys didn't have anything saved up they could go into their post and get money if they needed it. And say some of them are 60 or 70 percent disabled, they are trying to work it so that the Government themselves can't touch their pensions--they are trying to guarantee it for them. And say if a veteran borrowed money to start a business and the business failed, then the Government couldn't force them to pay that money back. Of course, if their business was all right they would have to pay it back, but if it failed, then the Government couldn't touch them. And just like now, the Government can change their pensions, but they are trying to work it so that the Government can't do it. Really making it so the boys will have something they can depend on--no strings attached, and no red tape.

(Should veterans of World War II go into the older organizations, or form new ones of their own?) They should belong to the old ones. They could form new posts of their own. They can always start new

posts if they don't want to belong to an old one. Or they can belong to the old posts if they want to. They expect now that the boys from this war are going to take over the old posts. The others are getting old and they would like these younger people to get in. It's the same as in other organizations--clubs or churches--it takes the younger men to move in and keep it going.

(What should these organizations do?) Oh, they got a line now if they can keep it up. The boys will feel a lot better on the stuff they are trying to get for them. It will make it a lot easier for them to get back into civilian life. The boys say they joined the VFW while they are still in. Well, these different organizations will help them into civilian life. Things they are scared of doing, they can talk to one of the members and they will help him get straightened out. (Anything else?) Well, I can't think of anything else. They are doing a swell job right now if they can keep it up.

(What were your own reasons for joining a veterans' organization?) Well, it's just like a union. If you belong to one, the more members you got in there the more you can swing the deal getting what you want for yourselves and the others that are coming out. Actually it's the older members that are making the path for the younger and the more they get in there the bigger and the straighter the path will be for them. (How do you mean, getting things for themselves?) They can get the information they want and they can help them. Just like I want a job here, they know about the changes that have come about in the three years I have been gone, and they can tell you all about it. You get in an organization like that and you help somebody else and by doing that you help yourself.

"A SQUARE DEAL"

(Do you think the returning serviceman is getting a square deal at the present time?) Well, as far as I know. It all depends on the person themselves. It all depends on their attitude. Just like if I got out I can either be against something and keep that in my mind or I can have a broad view of things and figure that times have changed since I have been out, and I have to expect a little change and try to adapt myself to it. Or else I can be so onery that nobody will even talk to me. (In general, as far as jobs and things are concerned, do you think they're getting a square deal?) I think they are. Well, you can say they are, because 75 percent of them are getting a job when they get out.

(How about after the war--do you think veterans will be treated fairly?) Well, that's to be seen. I wouldn't even know that myself. That's a good place to quit. Nobody knows anything until that happens.

(Well, just your own opinion, what are you expecting?) Well, I think it's going to be something like the last world war. There ain't going to be very many jobs. I don't care if you are a veteran or a civilian, it's going to be hard to get one. There's always a certain time after the war; they can't change over right now from wartime to peacetime and still have a high priority on jobs (still have plenty of jobs) like they have now. You figure they will have to place ten to twelve million more men, and where are you going to get the jobs for them? It's impossible to get them.

(If veterans don't get a square deal after the war, what do you think they should do about it?) Well, if they would do like they are trying to do--give preference to veterans on any job that they want; if they can make that stick that would be the best thing that ever happened. (How would they make it stick?) Well, through the Government--the only way they can. The Government is trying to pass a bill that veterans get so much preference. They can hold their jobs--get the seniority rights that they would have had if they hadn't been gone. Have more seniority rights than those that haven't been in. (How much preference should they have?) Well, just about the length of service that they spent. If he was in the Army three years he should get that much seniority. If it hadn't been for the war he would have, anyway.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

(Did your feeling about labor unions change any while you were in the Army?) No, that ain't changed one bit. I still think the same. I think there's graft in any union. (How about since you've been out of the Army--how do you feel about labor unions now?) I still feel the same way. Sometimes I think they have too high a hold on certain things. Like they do on this war production now--they were striking there and going out. And they know that stuff is needed bad, but still they go out and go on a strike, and I don't believe in that. If they were really underpaid and go on a strike, that's different. Just like this here _____ in Chicago (naming a retail concern)--that's o.k. How is a person going to live on 40 cents an hour in these times? If the union steps in something like that it's different. That's where the union is all right; but where they can go ahead and strike on production that they really need and they are still getting a fair wage and they go out on a strike just to be money greedy, I don't believe in it.

(Do you think there might be trouble between different kinds of people in this country after the war?) Well, there always was and I figure that there always will be. The white people themselves brought the colored people here and it's mostly between the white and black, and

they fought the war between the North and the South against that and I feel like they should treat them like they was one of ourselves. What would happen if it was to be turned around and there was 150 million colored people and only a few of us? We wouldn't like it if they treated us like we treat them. But you know it's bound to be like that. The only thing I don't like if those people down there (down South) go out together (intermarriage) I think that's different. But I think they should have good jobs and everything else. (Interviewer's note: Here he relates an anecdote of how he was down South and had his uniform cleaned and pressed and a Negro cleaner did it much better and faster for him and charged less, and was much nicer to him. And he always found it that way.) (Any other kind of trouble between different kinds of people?) No, I don't think there would be.

(In trying to solve postwar problems like unemployment and so on, would you rather have Government or business have more say?) Well, that has to be between the business and the Government. It can't just be one particular group. That would never work out. That would be like business trying to fight against the Government. (Then, you feel that they should cooperate together?) That's right. (Then, who do you feel should take the lead?) Well, I think Government would guarantee them more. Take a business, there might be a company in business now and sometime later it might sell out and somebody else would come in and lay off the men. Where if the Government had the lead, well they could just keep it going all the time. But, I think they should still cooperate together.

(Do you think this war is much different from other wars?) Well, I don't think there's any difference except that it's stepped up so fast that people can't hardly keep up with it. There's so many changes. (As far as what we are fighting for, is it different?) No, it's still the same. They are fighting for peace and everything else and the last war it was the same thing. There's too many fellows want to be head--want to try to be king of the world, or something. And that's never going to be done.

(In the long run, do you think it will be worth the sacrifice?) Well, I don't think anything is worth the sacrifice of war. No matter how long a person lives that's been in the war he will always think of that. I don't care how good it is after he gets back in the States. The only thing I would be grateful for if I actually know that war would be over with, but just like if you believe in the Bible it says, there are going to be wars every so often and you figure, well, maybe there's going to be another one as soon as your children grow up. Well, we hope not, anyway. (Then, in the long run you don't think it will be worth the sacrifice?) No, I don't myself.